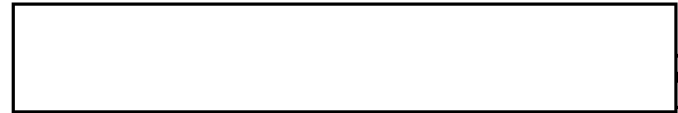




STAT



istry

August 14, 1959

VI-7031

File
[Signature]

The Honorable Allen W. Dulles
2430 E Street
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Allen:

I take great pleasure in enclosing herewith a Congressional Record reprint of an address which I prepared for Senator Bridges and which he presented in the Senate. I am sure you will find it of interest.

I felt this was the least I could do to pay tribute to one of the greatest Americans of our time. The nation and the world will miss John Foster Dulles, but I am confident that his memory will inspire and encourage us to carry on his great policy for peace.

I beg to remain, with kind personal regards,

Most respectfully yours,

[Signature]

Julius Klein/sm



FIVE REVISIONS FILE

STAT

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

John Foster Dulles and the Federal Republic of Germany

SPEECH
OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 14, 1959

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, some of my colleagues will recall the mission which Gen. Julius Klein, who has had an outstanding career both in military and civilian life, performed some years ago in analyzing the political, military, and economic picture in the free world.

General Klein's report, which was published as a Senate document, received the plaudits of many members of this body, as well as leading newspapers and periodicals throughout the country. While carrying out this mission, General Klein became well acquainted with German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Foreign Minister von Brentano, and other officials of the German Federal Republic. He also gained firsthand knowledge of the high esteem in which these officials held our late, great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles.

General Klein has written an informative and succinct commentary which pays tribute to Mr. Dulles, as well as officials of the German Federal Republic. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the body of the Record, along with related material which General Klein gathered through lengthy research.

There being no objection, the article and material were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

JOHN FOSTER DULLES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

(By Gen. Julius Klein)

For a long time to come, tributes will be paid to John Foster Dulles by Americans to the day of his death. He will be remembered as one of the great statesmen of our time. His life and work will be a source of inspiration to all who follow him. His memory will be a source of strength to all who are committed to the cause of freedom and democracy.

Foster Dulles. For years and decades to come the nations of the world will continue to honor the memory of our late Secretary of State. But there has come to my attention an article written by the distinguished Foreign Minister of the German Federal Republic, Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, which appeared on May 25 in the Frankfurter Allgemeine-Zeitung.

I was deeply touched with this great tribute by Dr. von Brentano. He and his distinguished chief, Chancellor Adenauer, rushed to Washington to pay homage to our late great Secretary of State who was buried with high military honors and now rests among the great heroes of our Nation. Their minds must have gone back years, to the time when our country undertook to bring back to Germany not only democracy but security against Communist aggression. No one cooperated with John Foster Dulles more than Chancellor Adenauer and his very able Foreign Minister Dr. von Brentano.

There are family ties between Dr. von Brentano and the United States. America had two distinguished Brentanos. Lorens Brentano came to America in 1848 with Carl Schurz and others, and settled in Chicago where a new German-American colony emerged. The families of Brentano, Schurs, Altgeld, Glogauer, Siegl, Klein, Rosemald and many others settled in Chicago in the middle west and became part of the drive to elect Abraham Lincoln President and to fight for freedom during the War Between the States. They left Germany during the 1848 revolution. Lorens Brentano's son was Judge Theodore Brentano, first a distinguished jurist and later our first post-World War I Ambassador to Hungary. Theodore Brentano was a distinguished American diplomat. He was an uncle of the present Foreign Minister of Germany Brentano. We have watched with great admiration not only the devotion to duty but the skilled diplomatic performances of West Germany's Foreign Minister. His close alliance with our own John Foster Dulles is history, and some day when all the records will be public the present German Foreign Minister will play a noble role alongside the

other Western colleagues as members of the famous Dulles team.

But nothing speaks better than his own words in the Frankfurter Zeitung, which I am quoting now:

"JOHN FOSTER DULLES, IDEALIST AND REALIST
"(By Foreign Secretary Heinrich von
Brentano)

"The news of the death of John Foster Dulles, former U.S. Foreign Secretary and personal adviser to the President, has caused a feeling of deep and genuine mourning among millions of people in all parts of the world. His friends as well as his enemies will agree that a personality of outstanding importance has left the stage of world politics. His name will forever be tied to the changing and tragic history of our century.

"In guiding the American foreign policy John Foster Dulles developed his own personal style. He was burdened with an exceptionally large number of tasks and an exceptional measure of responsibility. Supported by the unlimited confidence of the President of the United States to whom he was tied by a genuine human friendship, he was able to succeed in creating for himself an exceptionally strong position in the political events of our time.

"The experiences gathered during his brilliant career as lawyer made him one of the most excellent negotiators and outstanding mediators of his time. Filled with a deep and unwavering faith in the justice of his cause, as a champion of the free world, he had the talents which make for a great statesman. Nobody who met this cool yet passionate, severe yet kind, unyielding yet understanding, serious yet cheerful human being was able to escape the spell of his personality. For John Foster Dulles there was no difference between politics and morality; that was what his friends appreciated in him, what his opponents admired and what his enemies feared.

"Like all great ideas the concept, on the basis of which Dulles conducted American foreign policy during the difficult years of his office, was clear in its nucleus, logical, and convincing. In reviewing the life work of this man, it will also become clear to those who, in the midst of the turbulent events of this era, did not understand the American Foreign Secretary and accused him of a lack of ideas and tactical inflexibility.

"When John Foster Dulles took office, he was confronted with the tragic and dangerous conflict between East and West under which the people of the whole world are suffering. He who blames Dulles for not having compromised with this peril but to have emphasized it instead and called it by its real name with relentless seriousness, does not recognize the historic significance and ideological reason for the conflict between the free world of the West and the totalitarian and revolutionary system of bolshevism.

"There is not always a satisfactory answer to every foreign policy problem, even though the responsible statesman may make every effort to find its solution. John Foster Dulles always dealt calmly and seriously with the political issues which put their stamp on the foreign policy picture of our time. His sense for the possible which was sharpened by experience, did not allow him to chase after illusions with which many of his critics would have liked to replace the facts. And yet the clear-sighted statesman and the sympathetic man Dulles was not without hope and not without optimism.

"Despite all disappointments he never erred in his conviction that a peaceful settlement of world political tensions would be possible. However, he knew that this could only be done if the free world of the West was willing to defend its undeniable rights with firmness. He fully realized the inconvenience of this path. He was not the man who was willing to capitulate in the face of difficulties; he was a statesman who resolved to overcome them.

"The German people on this side and other side of the unfortunate separation line lost in John Foster Dulles one of their most faithful and sincere friends. He represented the legitimate interest of the German people with the passion of the righteous thinker. One of the most important tasks to which he was dedicated was to restore the right of self determination to Germany. He knew that the artificial division of the German people was an expression and the result of the world political tension, which he wanted to eliminate in order to restore and assure world peace.

"This knowledge and this desire were the basis for the close political cooperation with the German Federal Government. They were also the basis for the profound human friendship which had arisen between him and the German Chief Executive, Chancellor Dr. Adenauer. From the common thinking of both originated common action which proved so correct. To continue this common work also with the successor of the deceased in his high office as Secretary of State will be the task of the German policy, thus fulfilling the bequest of a friend.

"John Foster Dulles was, like all great people, an idealist in the best sense of the word. Idealism in thinking and realism in acting do not exclude each other, but supplement each other. He who denies the strength of the idea has only one way left—to acknowledge power. He who does not want to see the facts will become an illusionist.

"How strongly idea and reality determined his thinking and acting is shown by the following sentences said by Dulles during a critical time: 'Sometimes the free world seems to be governed by its contrasts rather than by its common thinking. The shaping of its foreign policy always takes place in the open thus encouraging our opponents

to sow dissension. All that is confusing and tiring. Sometimes a feeling could come over us that our actions have no sense. But we must always remain conscious of the fact that variety is the token of freedom. The fact is that a dictatorship is always weaker than one thinks and a democracy always stronger than it appears."

"John Foster Dulles' counsel and assistance will not be with us in future conflicts of world politics. But we should remember his courage and deep strength of conviction when we are threatened by doubts and discouragement."

Countless Americans, irrespective of party, have paid tribute to Secretary Dulles. We realize that the problem of a free Germany and the problem of Berlin are uppermost in the minds of the free peoples of the world. The one most concerned with this problem, of course, is the Federal Republic of Germany, the spokesman for whom is the distinguished Foreign Secretary of Germany, Dr. von Brentano.

I was privileged to be a close friend and adviser to the late and distinguished Senator Robert A. Taft, who was immortalized by the Senate recently through the Taft Memorial Bell and the portrait in the Senate Chamber. A few years ago, I was sent to Europe to aid the Government in analyzing the political, military, and economic situation of the free world. My report was published as a Senate document and I am pleased to say that Senators from both sides of the aisle, including Senators BRIDGES, KEFAUVER, SYMINGTON and others joined in praising the report. During my travels abroad, and since the beginning of the Federal Republic of Germany, I have become intimately acquainted with Chancellor Adenauer, Foreign Minister Brentano, Minister Erhard, and many others.

I wish to comment, at this point, about that great team and the friendship between Secretary Dulles and the present Foreign Minister of Germany, Dr. Brentano, who now, under the direction of Chancellor Adenauer, has become a loyal teammate of our new distinguished Secretary of State, Christian Herter. I have probed into the official files and I want to call attention to some of my findings. They are in two sections, one a more personal one and the other the official record of the various meetings that our great late Secretary Dulles and Brentano held in discussing the international problems facing not only our two Nations, but the free world. I am proud of this historical document and I hope that it will benefit future historians.

For the sake of history I would like to touch briefly on some interesting observations and historical events of the famous Dulles, Adenauer, Brentano team—and since 1955, when Adenauer gave up the post of Foreign Minister, it was the Dulles-Brentano team.

The place of our great Dulles was taken by the distinguished statesman, Christian

Herter, a worthy successor of Dulles and a worthy teammate of Brentano. I am sure that these two statesmen will continue the strong policy originally initiated by Dulles and Adenauer. But it is interesting to look at what happened the last 4 years, as I feel certain that future students of the Dulles period would want to have these facts.

Germany took John Foster Dulles to heart because men like Adenauer and von Brentano were sincere in their praise and firm friendship with John Foster Dulles, thus reflecting the feelings of the entire German nation. Therefore, I think it would also be of interest to quote here a poem which appeared in April in the Frankfurt Abend Post. The original in German is beautiful and I hope this translation will do it justice. I sent this poem to Mr. Dulles, my good friend, and it was read by him before he died as Mrs. Dulles gratefully acknowledged. The poem reads as follows:

"A BOUQUET OF FLOWERS FOR MR. DULLES—
SERVANT OF HIS CONSCIENCE

"A man who never took time to be sick,
has capitulated: John Foster Dulles,
America's Secretary of State, was compelled
yesterday to surrender his post.

"For 6 hard years the world has seen him
in office. The man with the rimless spectacles
who always appeared somewhat discontented,
and who stood invisibly, his finger raised,
behind each decision made by the
White House and the West.

"When he stepped down yesterday from
the stage of the great world theater, we remembered
what he never has been:

"Not the customary type politician;
Not the 'fox' in the dark corridors of
diplomacy;
Not the one who artfully pulled the strings
at elegant cocktail parties;
Not the subject of amusing anecdotes;
Not the rosy checked, self conscious self
made man;
Not the man who used to be showered with
flowers by ladies between 18 and 80;
Not the politician whose necktie could have
served as a model to anybody;
Not the man who would ever have enjoyed
a confetti parade on New York's Fifth
Avenue.

"But he is a man who, next to the President
of the most powerful country in the
world whose own health is none too stable,
has always remained the first servant of
his conscience.

"Thus he became an inconvenient, unpopular,
stubborn figure, and why?

"He was a man who made politics according
to the principles of his strong morale,
Regarded his post as a sort of mission,
Found no difference between a pulpit and
the chair of a Cabinet member,
Sacrificed to the accident by which he
became Secretary of State everything
that might ever have made him popular.

"That is the balance drawn at the end of the diplomatic career of the 'Schoolmaster of Washington'. It is the balance sheet of an honorable man of which he—now confined to bed at Walter Reed Hospital—does not have to be ashamed.

"We do hope that some night nurse will secretly place a bouquet of spring flowers on the table of this headstrong Puritan.

"He surely deserves it."

May I conclude by expressing my appreciation to the German Foreign Minister von Brentano, and to wish him and his distinguished chief and his nation continued happiness. I am grateful that John Foster Dulles was their champion and friend, and I appreciate the tribute paid Mr. Dulles by his German colleague Dr. von Brentano.

As Dr. von Brentano says, our great Secretary, who sacrificed his life on the field of battle, will continue to serve his country. On the day when Khrushchev's ultimatum expired, the 27th of May, John Foster Dulles was taken to his last resting place. But the courage and determination he inspired in free men lived on. Berlin and the free world faced up to the Soviet challenge and justified John Foster Dulles' call to mankind to defend human liberty.

Winston Churchill is indeed very proud of his American ancestry and heritage, and I am sure that Minister von Brentano is just as proud of his American relationship and ties. The name of the American Brentanos is enshrined in our own history and tradition, and I am sure that the name of the German Brentano will find an equal place not only in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany but in the history of the free world, alongside the names of the other great men who fought to make this a better world to live in.

Complete research has been made into the fine teamwork between John Foster Dulles and Germany's Foreign Minister Brentano, and this also will be made available. Let us hope that the teamwork will continue between Brentano and Christian Herter. Let us also hope that if there should be any internal strife in Germany this bulwark of democracy will remain our trusted ally against totalitarian aggression.

I would like to close my remarks by paying tribute not only to Minister Brentano and the memory of John Foster Dulles, but also to the two great German statesmen, Adenauer and Erhard.

THE COOPERATION BETWEEN SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES AND FOREIGN MINISTER DR. VON BRENTANO

In view of the political and ideological conflict between West and East and the battle for the survival and safety of the free world the German-American relationship is of particular importance. One of the characteristic facts of international politics after World War II is the continued strengthening of friendly relations between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The more the role of the Federal Republic changed from that of a conquered and occupied country to that of an ally and friend, the more important became the role of the statesmen responsible for German foreign policy followed by increasingly close relations and contacts between them and their foreign colleagues. This applies to a particularly high degree in the case of German-American relations.

After the Republican victory during the presidential election in the fall of 1952 with Eisenhower becoming President, Mr. Dulles was appointed Secretary of State on January 21, 1953, and occupied this office continuously until he resigned on April 12, 1959, because of illness. In the Federal Republic, Adenauer, in addition to being Chancellor first, was Foreign Secretary at the same time, until he entrusted this office—on June 7, 1955—to the former chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag faction, Dr. von Brentano.

Thus the cooperation between Dulles and Brentano as Foreign Ministers covered a period from June 7, 1955, to April 18, 1959, or 4 extremely eventful years, during which time decisions had to be made which were of great importance not only to the United States and Germany, but to the entire world.

The two politicians had met before. It was not by accident that Dulles—immediately after taking office, during a European trip—met with Dr. von Brentano on January 31, 1953, in Rome (and again in February 5, 1953, in Bonn), the latter then being chairman of the constitutional committee of the ad hoc conference of Montan Parliament. European unification, which was close to the hearts of both politicians, still was the main topic during their later meetings. Before becoming Foreign Minister, when he was a member and chairman of several parliamentary European bodies, Brentano was better acquainted with this question than anybody else.

On February 4, 1954, both foreign ministers met again at the Berlin Conference with Brentano attending as observer in his capacity as chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag faction. The German question, the problem of German reunification in freedom, has continued during the subsequent years to occupy and determine world politics and thus the conferences between Dulles and Brentano.

It was of importance not only that both men had esteem and regard for each other as politicians of two democracies with related purposes who took the same attitude in the all-overshadowing conflict between East and West, but that there were close human bonds between them which grew into a genuine friendship.

In their capacity as Foreign Ministers Dulles and Brentano met and talked on not less than 20 occasions: During three visits of Secretary of State Dulles in Germany; during the five visits of Minister von Brentano in the United States (the latter two with

Chancellor Adenauer and President Heuss, respectively, during nine NATO-ministerial councils or conferences of prime ministers; and during seven other multilateral conferences or meetings. Some of these, incidentally, such as the NATO Prime Ministers conference in Paris in 1957, offered also an opportunity for talks with President Eisenhower.

During the big international conferences both politicians not only met at the conference table (and at social affairs), but very frequently met also for special private bilateral talks or in a small circle during which policy at the particular conferences was agreed upon, and beyond that they several times discussed special problems.

The following chronological summary gives a brief listing, to the extent that security classification permits of the subjects of the various talks. They reflect the issues of a time politically quite troubled, for example: the Geneva conferences in 1955, the German and Berlin question in all its aspects, the numerous efforts of the Western Powers to reach disarmament and security agreements with the Soviet Union, European unification, the Hungarian crisis, the crises in the Near, Middle and Far East. They go far beyond questions which directly concern German-American relations (as for instance the problem of German property in the United States of America).

There are very few European politicians with whom Dulles met as often as with Brentano due to the fact that both Foreign Ministers held their offices at the same time for an uninterrupted period of almost 4 years. The cooperation in regard to foreign policy between Dulles and Brentano, which was marked by personal friendship, was not limited only to the meetings listed. The cooperation of the two men, both of whom significantly were the subject of repeated strong attacks by official circles in Moscow and Pankow as well as by the press of the Soviet Union and its Sattelites, was also reflected in an extensive exchange of correspondence dealing with various questions whose confidential nature does not permit a more detailed discussion for the time being. We only want to cite part of the letter which Dr. von Brentano wrote to Dulles on April 22, 1959, immediately after the latter's decision to resign from his office:

"You may well look back, dear Mr. Dulles, with pride and gratification on the years that have passed. European cooperation, Western European Union, and NATO—none of these would ever have become a reality or stood the test without the resolute will of the American Government to support and encourage them.

"But in addition to that, I am aware that the entire German nation owes a particular debt of gratitude to you for the ready understanding you have always shown for the concern and difficulties of the German people and which was largely instrumental in

preventing the tragic state of my country from ever being forgotten by the world.

"I recall the years of our common endeavor with sincere satisfaction but also with sincere gratitude. You will certainly permit me to say that our work together for a common aim has given rise to a personal relation which I feel I may without presumption described as friendship."

Berlin Conference (January 25 to February 18, 1954):

February 4: Talk between Secretary of State Dulles and Dr. von Brentano as chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag about the entire complex of the German question.

Secretary of States Dulles' European trip (January 31 to February 8, 1955):

January 31: Meeting with Dr. von Brentano in Rome as chairman of the working group of the constitutional committee of the ad hoc-conference of the Montan Parliament. Discussion of questions in connection with European union.

February 5: Meeting with Dr. von Brentano in Bonn at dinner given by Chancellor Adenauer; again discussion of questions re European unification.

NATO Foreign Ministers Conference, Paris (July 16, 1955): Discussion of proceedings for Geneva Conference. Agreement on priority of German problem on whose solution depend questions of European security and disarmament.

Federal Minister Dr. von Brentano's visit in the United States (September 17 to October 5, 1955):

September 28: In New York Dr. von Brentano discussed with Secretary of State Dulles and the English and French Foreign Ministers the position to be taken at the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference regarding the German question (priority of reunification within the framework of a European security plan). He apprises his Western colleagues of the Chancellor's Moscow trip.

September 30: Extensive exchange of opinion with Secretary of State Dulles in Washington. Continuation of New York talks, particularly discussion of Berlin situation and European integration.

October 3: Meeting and talks with Secretary of State Dulles at a dinner in Ambassador Krokeler's home.

Four-Power Conferences and NATO-Foreign Ministers Conferences in Paris (October 24 and 25, 1955):

October 24: Thorough talk between Federal Minister Dr. von Brentano, Secretary of State Dulles, Minister Macmillan, and Minister Pinay about the German question and common memorandum of the three Western Powers to be handed to the Soviet Union at the occasion of the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference.

October 25: NATO-Foreign Ministers Conference. Discussion of how to proceed at Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference and agreement on mutual information and consultation.

Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva (October 27 to November 16, 1955):

November 9: Discussion between Brentano, Dulles, Macmillan, and Pinay of the state of the conference. Presentation of German point of view. During press conference on following day Brentano expressed gratitude to his Foreign Minister colleagues for "complete and absolute loyalty" shown in advocating reunification.

NATO Ministerial Council Meeting, Paris (December 15-16, 1955):

Among other matters, discussion of results of Geneva conference and emphasizing the necessity to continue efforts for German reunification and to keep in constant consultation about this issue. Problems of the Middle and Near East.

December 17: Following NATO conference talks between Secretary of State Dulles and Federal Minister von Brentano. Discussions of problems arising after establishment of diplomatic relations between Bonn and Moscow. Question of European unity within WEU and Montan Union. German contributions to NATO.

NATO Ministerial Council Meeting, Paris (May 4 to 5, 1956):

Analysis of past and future activities of NATO and concept of the so-called coexistence. Establishment of the committee of "The Three Wise Men." Emphasis of necessity for closer economic cooperation.

May 3: Discussion between Secretary of State Dulles and Federal Minister von Brentano about German reunification and disarmament in line with the London Disarmament Conference. State of Saar negotiations.

First Suez Conference, London (August 16-23, 1956):

The German delegation under Federal Minister von Brentano support U.S. mediation efforts, also the so-called Five-Power plan.

August 16: Immediately before beginning of conference discussion between Secretary of State Dulles and Federal Minister von Brentano. Agreement on position to be taken at conference. Question of American "change in armament." German contribution to NATO.

Second Suez Conference, London (September 19-21, 1956):

September 20-21: Brentano headed the German delegation—for 1½ days—although occupied with the state visit of the King and Queen of Greece in the Federal Republic. In a personal message Secretary of State Dulles informed Brentano that he would put particular value on his presence in London.

September 20: Discussion between Brentano, Dulles, Eden, Selwyn Lloyd, Pineau, and the British Defense Secretary Monckton.

NATO Ministerial Council session, Paris (December 11-14, 1956):

Review of the international situation. Analysis of the events in Hungary (principal statements by Dr. von Brentano about de-

velopment in Eastern Europe; suggestion for a declaration of independence for the peoples within the Soviet power sphere and the right of these countries for self-determination and self-government). Problem of reopening the Suez Canal. Questions of political consultation. Approval of recommendations by the "Three Wise Men."

December 13: Talks between Secretary of State Dulles and Federal Minister von Brentano. Thorough discussion of international situation and the latest Soviet disarmament proposals. Agreement that disarmament on the basis of a divided Germany can only lead to increased tensions in Europe. American policy in Europe.

Federal Minister von Brentano's stay in the United States (March 3 to March 13, 1957):

March 4-5: Thorough discussion with Secretary of State Dulles in Washington of a great number of current world problems of common interest. Discussed in particular were: Political situation in the light of latest developments in Eastern Europe and Middle East, question of reunification, German contribution to NATO, progress of EWG and Euratom.

March 7: Talk with President Eisenhower in presence of Secretary of State Dulles.

NATO Ministerial Council Session, Bonn (May 2-3, 1957): Discussion of security question and the balance between modern and conventional weapons (British plans for revision of armament). Review of effects which political development of past year had on question of German reunification. Analysis of Middle East situation. Discussion of potential cultural contacts with the Soviet Union. Before and after the conference (May 1 and May 4) talks between Chancellor Adenauer, Secretary of State Dulles and Federal Minister von Brentano about international situation and problems discussed at the Ministerial Council session. In particular agreement on common position vis-a-vis Soviet "atomic threats" and exchange of opinion on rearmament question.

U.S. trip of Chancellor Adenauer accompanied by Federal Minister von Brentano (May 26-29, 1957):

May 27-28: In Washington talks between Adenauer, Dulles, Brentano, and leading State Department officials, concluding talks with President Eisenhower. Among other discussion of German-American relations and the European and world situation. Disarmament and reunification. (Draft declaration of the Four Power Commission. London disarmament negotiations.) European integration. Germany's contribution to European defense.

Federal Minister von Brentano visit to the United States (Nov. 23-24, 1957):

November 23: Exchange of thoughts with Secretary of State Dulles in Washington, in particular in regard to NATO Prime Ministers Conference in December. Question of regular political consultation within NATO. According to Secretary Dulles the discus-

sions with Brentano established a firm basis for the success of the coming Paris Conference; helped to a large extent "to clear the air" (INS Washington on November 27, 1957).

NATO—Prime Ministers Conference, Paris (Dec. 16-19, 1957), three main topics:

Strengthening of solidarity through more extensive political consultation; armament of NATO countries with medium range rocket weapons; closer economic cooperation. Also discussion of Bulganin letters; demand to Soviet Union to fulfill her obligations in order to ease tensions regarding German reunification, in spirit of Geneva Conference.

December 17: Dulles and Brentano participated in talks between President Eisenhower and Chancellor Adenauer. Discussion of international situation and American and German policy toward Soviet Union. German reply to Bulganin letter.

Federal Minister von Brentano was not able to attend talks between Chancellor Adenauer and Secretary of State Dulles on December 14 since he presided over WEU Ministerial Council Session taking place at same time.

NATO—Ministerial Council Session in Copenhagen (May 5-7, 1958):

Among other matters, discussion of possible summit conference and question of tying in reunification with disarmament and security.

May 5: Extensive conversation between Secretary of State Dulles and Federal Minister von Brentano. Presentation of German standpoint regarding question of reunification (necessity to deal with this problem directly or indirectly at summit conference), which was supported by Dulles. Brentano backs American recommendations for inspection and controlled disarmament.

Federal President House visits the United States (June 4-6, 1958):

June 5: Talk between Secretary of State Dulles and Federal Minister von Brentano in Washington.

516199--71713

Topics of conversation: German question and summit conference, German assets in U.S.A., "costs of stationing troops," situation in France.

Visit of Secretary of State Dulles in Germany (July 26, 1958): Several hours long talk about political situation between Chancellor Adenauer, Secretary Dulles and Federal Minister von Brentano. Detailed exchange of thoughts, particularly about the Middle East situation.

Funeral services for Pope Pius XII in Rome (October 18-19, 1958):

October 18: Before leaving by plane for Formosa Secretary Dulles talked with Federal Minister von Brentano in the American Embassy about international situation and various NATO questions.

Four Power Conference about Berlin question and NATO-Ministerial Council Session, Paris (December 14 and December 16-18, 1958 respectively):

December 14: Conference on Berlin status between Secretary of State Dulles, Minister Selwyn Lloyd, Minister Couve de Murville and Federal Minister von Brentano. Confirmed resolution to maintain stand and rights in regard to Berlin as well as right of free access.

NATO Council session: Review of international situation and in particular of Berlin problem. NATO Council agreed with statement by Foreign Ministers Conference on December 14.

December 16: Luncheon given by Secretary General Spaak with Secretary of State Dulles and Federal Minister von Brentano.

Secretary of State Dulles visit to Germany (February 7-8, 1959): Discussions with Chancellor Adenauer and Federal Minister von Brentano about German and Berlin question. Thorough exchange of opinion about conference with the Soviet Union, and weighing reunification versus disarmament. Emphasis of principle "no concession without counter concession."